

A COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF
HESIOD AND PINDAR

A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
MAY 1897

By JOHN ADAMS SCOTT

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TO ROBERT BAIRD
PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY



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All references are to these two editions. I have also been aided by the following :

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INTRODUCTION.

Hesiod of Askra and Pindar of Thebes were the two great poets of Bœotia.

It would be hard to find in all classic literature two poets who apparently are more dissimilar. They represent the two extremes of Greek poetry.

Hesiod was born a peasant, with the peasants he lived, and for them he wrote. His poetry rarely rises to poetic heights, but he uttered plain, sober thoughts in a plain, sober way.

This unadorned manner of expression, and the dry enumeration of names, was regarded by the ancient grammarians as the most pronounced characteristic of his style, and was designated by them as *Ἡσιόδειος ὁ κατ' ὄνομα χαρακτήρ*.

Pindar, on the other hand, was an aristocrat; his friends were nobles, princes, and Olympian victors; his travels and associations embraced all Helas. While Hesiod wrote for impoverished and oppressed peasants, Pindar wrote for the heaven-favored and successful; his style is marked by "opulence, splendor, and elevation." But this they have in common, they were both men of high moral and religious convictions.

The myth is the core of the Pindaric ode, and Hesiod's poetry was a storehouse of mythical lore.

Pindar, we know, was perfectly familiar with Hesiod, as he quotes him approvingly by name.

The purpose of this paper is to show the influence Hesiod had on Pindar, and to point out the traditions, sentiments, and expressions which they have in common. These agreements are grouped under the following heads:

Religion.

Ethics.

Mythology.

Language.

All references are to the following editions:

Hesiod. A. Rzach. Leipzig, 1884.

Pindar. W. Christ. Leipzig, 1896.

ABBREVIATIONS.

HESIOD.

- E. Works and Days.
- T. Theogony.
- S. Shield.
- Fr. Fragments.

[O was not used for the Works and Days, Opera et Dies, so as to avoid confusion with the abbreviation for the Olympian Odes of Pindar.]

PINDAR.

- O. Olympian Odes.
- P. Pythian Odes.
- N. Nemean Odes.
- I. Isthmian Odes.
- Fr. Fragments.

Quotations from Hesiod, unless stated otherwise, precede.

I.

1. THE GODS.
2. GENERAL CONCEPTION OF DIVINITY.
3. RELIGIOUS NOTIONS.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HESIOD AND PINDAR.

I.

In their origin, gods and men were one. The same mother earth brought them both forth.

E., 108. ὥς δ' ἰμόθεν γεγάασι θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι.

E., 563. Γῇ πάντων μήτηρ.

N., VI, 1. ἔν' ἀνδρῶν.
 ἐν θεῶν γένος· ἐκ μιᾶς δὲ πνέομεν
 ματρὸς ἀμφότεροι.

O., VII, 38. Γαῖα μήτηρ.

Man did not retain this equality, but was placed under subjection to the gods, to whom the following qualities belong.

I. THE GODS ARE IMMORTAL.

ἀθάνατοι (T., 272 ; O., 1-63, and often).

Immortality is the essential difference between gods and men, so that the gods may be called by that name alone, ἀθάνατοι, while θνητοὶ applies to men. Divinity is gained by the single attribute of immortality. Cf.

E., 763. φήμη δ' οὖτις πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἥντινα πολλοὶ
 λαοὶ φημίζουσι· θεὸς νύ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή.

N., X, 57. Polydeuces prefers to share in his brother's fate, rather than be a god, ἧ πάμπαν θεὸς ἔμμεναι. Thus the partial loss of immortality carried a corresponding loss of divinity. Cf. also N., VI, 2, and X, 7.

While the gods are immortal, they are not from everlasting, but were born in a world long existent.

Neither poet conceived of the gods as living before the earth was created. (T., 45 ; E., 108, 563 ; O., VI, 38 ; N., VI, 1.)

II. THE GODS ARE OMNISCIENT.

- E., 267. Πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας.
 P., IX, 44. Φοῖβε — — Κύριον ὃς πάντων τέλος
 οἶσθα καὶ πάσας κελεύθους·
 ὅσσα τε χθὼν ἥρινά φύλλ' ἀναπέμπει, χῶπόσαι
 ἐν θαλάσσῃ καὶ ποταμοῖς ψάμαθοι
 κύμασιν ῥιπαῖς τ' ἀνέμων κλονέονται,
 χῶ τι μέλλει, χῶπόθεν
 ἔσσεται, εὖ καθορᾷς

As a consequence of this omniscience, the gods cannot be deceived.

- T., 613. ὥς οὐκ ἔστι Διὸς κλέψαι νόον οὐδὲ παρελθεῖν.
 E., 105. οὕτως οὔτι πῃ ἔστι Διὸς νόον ἐξαλέασθαι.
 O., I, 66. εἰ δὲ θεὸν ἀνὴρ τις ἔλπεταί τι
 λαθέμεν ἐρδων, ἀμαρτάνει.

(Cf. P., III, 26.)

Hesiod was not consistent in his assertions of divine omniscience. Zeus was easily deceived by Prometheus (E., 47, 8).

ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἔκρυψε χολωσάμενος φρεσὶν ἧσιν
 ὅτ τι μιν ἐξαπάτησε Προμηθεύς ἀγκυλομήτης.

Pindar shows a distinct advance on Hesiod in reference to divine omniscience, as is shown by the way the two poets treated the myth of Coronis. In Hesiod (Frag. 148) a raven bears the message of Coronis' faithlessness. In Pindar (P., III, 25) Apollo perceives it for himself.

Pindar, as will appear later, was perfectly familiar with the version of the myth in Hesiod, but changed it to make it more in harmony with his higher ideas of divinity. Cf. p. 17.

III. THE GODS ARE ALL-POWERFUL, AND THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF EVERY ACT DEPENDS ON THEM.

- E., 669. ἐν τοῖς γὰρ τέλος ἐστὶν ὁμῶς ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε.
 O., XIII, 83. τελεῖ δὲ θεῶν δύναμις καὶ τὰν παρ' ὄρκον καὶ παρὰ
 ἐλπίδα κούφαν κτίσιν.

P., I, 41. ἐκ θεῶν γὰρ μαχαναὶ πᾶσαι βροτέαις ἀρεταῖς.

Frag., 141. θεὸς ὁ τὰ πάντα τεύχων βροτοῖς.

(Cf. also P. X, 48.)

What they do they do with ease.

E., 5-8. ῥέα μὲν γὰρ βριάει, ῥέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει,
ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει,
ῥεῖα δέ τ' ἰθύνει σκολιὸν καὶ ἀγήνορα κάρφει
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης.

P., IX, 67. ὥκεῖα δ' ἐπειγομένων ἤδη θεῶν
πρᾶξις ὁδοί τε βραχεῖαι.

Even the gods themselves are in subjection to the laws of fate.

T., 474 καὶ οἱ πεφραδέτην ὅσαπερ πέπρωτο γενέσθαι
ἀμφὶ Κρόνῳ βασιλῇ καὶ νιεῖ καρτεροθύμῳ.

Zeus, too, feared the child which Metis was about to bear him, giving as his reason (T., 894).

ἐκ γὰρ τῆς εἴμαρτο περίφρονα τέκνα γενέσθαι.

Compare also

P., XII, 30. τό γε μόρσιμον οὐ παρφυκτόν.

I., VIII, 31. εἶπε δ' εὐβουλος ἐν μέσοισι Θέμις,
εἵνεκεν πεπρωμένον ἦν φέρτερον γόνον
ἂν ἄνακτα πατρὸς τεκεῖν
ποντίαν θεόν.

Each poet contradicts himself in asserting divine omnipotence. (S., 350 ff.) Heracles easily defeats Ares, and the same hero (O., IX, 29) by divine aid withstands the gods. Here, too, Pindar shows a higher conception of divinity, for, while he refers to tradition, he flings it from him as unworthy of the gods.

IV. *The gods are blessed* μάκαρες (T., 128; O., I, 53), and live forever, free from toil and care, in joyous youth.

E., 112. ὥστε θεοὶ δ' ἔζων ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
νόσφιν ἄτερ τε πόνων καὶ διζύος· οὐδέ τι δειλὸν
γῆρας ἐπῆν, αἰεὶ δὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὁμοῖοι
τέρποντ' ἐν θαλίῃσι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἀπάντων.

- T., 954. ὀλβιος, ὃς μέγα ἔργον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνύσσας
ναίει ἀπήμαντος καὶ ἀγήραος ἤματα πάντα.
- P., X, 21. θεὸς αἰεὶ ἀπήμων κέαρ.
αἰεὶ Schneidewin's conjecture for εἴη of the manuscripts.
- Frag., 143. κείνοι (θεοὶ) γὰρ τ' ἄνοσοι καὶ ἀγήραοι
πόνων τ' ἄπειροι.

V. *The gods are just and true in themselves—the cause of justice and truth in others.* They reward the honest and upright, and punish the unjust and wicked, hence the righteous prosper but the wicked meet with adversity.

- E., 279. Ζεὺς — — ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἔδωκε δίκην, ἣ πολλὸν ἀρίστη
γίγνεται.
- E., 225 ff. οἱ δὲ δίκας ξείνοισι καὶ ἐνδήμοισι διδοῦσιν
ἰθείας καὶ μὴ τι παρεκβαίνουσι δικαίου,
τοῖσι τέθηκε πόλις, λαοὶ δ' ἀνθεῦσιν ἐν αὐτῇ.
οὐδέ ποτ' ἰθυδίκησι μετ' ἀνδράσι λιμὸς ὀπηδεῖ.
οἷς δ' ὕβρις τε μέμηλε κακὴ καὶ σκέτλια ἔργα
τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων,
λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν. ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί.
- N., X, 54. καὶ μὰν θεῶν πιστὸν γένος.
- O., X, 4. ἀλλὰ σὺ καὶ θυγάτηρ
Ἀλάθεια Διός.
- O., II, 68 ff. ἀπονέστερον
ἔσλοὶ δέκονται βίοτον, οὐ χθόνα
ταράσσοντες ἐν χερὸς ἀκμῇ
οὐδὲ πόντιον ὕδωρ
κεινὰν παρὰ δίαίταν· ἀλλὰ παρὰ μὲν τιμίους
θεῶν, οἵτινες ἔχαιρον εὐορκίαις,
ἄδακρυν νέμονται
αἰῶνα· τοὶ δ' ἀπροσόρατον ὀκχεόντι πόνον.

The gods are especially provoked by too high aspirations in men, and divine envy must be avoided. (E., 135, 140; S., 33, 39; O., VIII, 86, 56; I., VI, 39, and often.)

VII. *The gods are changeable, and their ways are past finding out.*

- E., 483. ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλοῖος Ζηνὸς νόος αἰγιόχοιο
ἀργαλέος δ' ἄνδρεσσι καταθηγητοῖσι νοῆσαι.
- Frag., 197. Μάντις δ' οὐ νύ τίς ἐστιν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,
ὅς τις ἂν εἰδείη Ζηνὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο.
- I., IV, 52. Ζεὺς τὰ τε καὶ τὰ νέμει.
- Frag., 61, 3. οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως τὰ θεῶν βουλευμάτων
ἐρευνάσει βροτέα φρενί.

(Cf. O. XII, 7.)

After the manner of men, the gods pledge themselves by oath, *θεῶν ὄρκον μέγαν*. (T. 400; O, VII, 65.)

They come to assemblies and discuss measures of policy. (T. 802; O., XIV, 8.)

They quarrel among themselves and become reconciled. (T., 784; E., 169 and often; I., IV, 76; N., I, 70; P., IV, 241; O., II, 70.)

They are subject to passion, love, and are loved. The passion of the gods is the theme of much of the Theogony. Among many references to the same subject in Pindar are O., I, 25; I., VII, 29.

Hesiod's theology is better in the abstract than the concrete. While asserting the omnipotence of the gods, he gives examples of divine impotency, and in the face of omniscience makes them err. They are the source of all that is just and noble, yet in themselves are often false and mean.

Hesiod felt that divinity could only be invested with the most exalted virtues, but was not prepared to reject a theogony the very reverse of this.

Pindar's ideas of the gods are almost identical with Hesiod's, but he has advanced, and refuses to assign to the gods, acts and motives glaringly inconsistent with his high notions of divine truth and justice.

- O., I, 53. ἐμοὶ δ' ἄπορα γαστρίμαργον μακάρων
τιν' εἰπείν. ἀφίσταμαι.

(Cf. O., I, 30; IX, 36.)

MAN.

Man was born from the same mother as the gods, but his present condition is one of feebleness, blindness, and helplessness, beset by evils which he cannot avoid, and threatened by perils he cannot foresee.

E., 176. *νῦν γὰρ δὴ γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον. οὐδέ ποτ' ἡμάρ
παύσονται καμάτων καὶ οἰζύος, οὐδέ τι νύκτωρ
φθειρόμενοι· χαλεπὰς δὲ θεοὶ δώσουσι μερίμνας.*

E., 200. *τὰ δὲ λείψεται ἄλγεα λυγρὰ
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι· κακοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔσsetαι ἀλκή.*

P., VIII, 95. *ἐπάμεροι. τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὐ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ
ἄνθρωπος.*

P., III, 81. *ἐν παρ' ἐσλὸν πῆματα σύνδνο δαίονται βροτοῖς
ἀθάνατοι.*

His blindness in regard to the future is pictured. (E., 483; Frag., 197; I., IV, 52; O., XII, 7; Frag., 33.)

MAN IN RELATION TO THE GODS.

Human enterprises succeed only by divine favor, and men are renowned according to the glory the gods have given them. (E., 4-7, 669; P., I, 41; Frag. 141.)

Both poets unite ethical and religious ideas, as the gods are just and true, all-wise, and all-powerful, they observe and reward the righteous, and punish the guilty. (E., 277, 225-42; O., X, 4; II, 68-74; N., 10-34.)

The wicked may flourish at first, but in the end the just prevail.

E., 217. *δίκη δ' ὑπὲρ ὕβριος ἴσχει
ἐς τέλος ἐξέλθοῦσα.*

I., VI, 47. *τὸ δὲ παρ δίκαν
γλυκὺ πικροτάτα μένει τελευτά.*

Frag., 159. *ἀνδρῶν δικαίων χρόνος σωτὴρ ἄριστος.*
(Cf. Frag., 108.)

The gods, both by virtue of their power and because of their goodness, deserve worship and praise. Man's first duty is to

serve the gods. Hesiod (Frag., 182) contains the advice of Cheiron, which is quoted by Pindar (P., VI, 19), where worship of the gods is put before reverence to parents.

MAN IN RELATION TO FELLOW-MAN.

Parents deserve the highest respect that mortals can give to mortals (E., 331, the advice of Cheiron referred to above).

Love those who love you; treat an enemy as an enemy; repay in kind.

- E., 353. τὸν φιλέοντα φιλεῖν.
 E., 343. τὸν φιλέοντ' ἐπὶ δαῖτα καλεῖν, τὸν δ' ἐχθρὸν ἐᾶσαι.
 E., 709. εἰ δὲ σέ γ' ἄρχει
 ἥ τι ἔπος εἰπὼν ἀποθύμιον ἧὲ καὶ ἔρξας,
 δὺς τόσα τίνυσθαι μεμνημένος.
 P., II, 83. φίλον εἶη φιλεῖν.
 ποτὶ δ' ἐχθρὸν ἄτ' ἐχθρὸς ἔων
 λύκοιο δίκαν ὑποθεύσομαι.
 I., III, 66. χρὴ δὲ πᾶν ἔρδοντα μαυρῶσαι τὸν ἐχθρόν.

Quarrels with superiors are to be avoided.

- E., 210. ἄφρων δ' ὅς κ' ἐθέλῃ πρὸς κρείσσονας ἀντιφερίζειν
 νίκης τε στέρεται πρὸς τ' αἰσχεσιν ἄλγεα πάσχει.
 O., X, 39. νείκος δὲ κρεσσόνων
 ἀποθέσθ' ἄπορον.
 N., X, 72. χαλεπὰ δ' ἔρις ἀνθρώποις ὀμιλεῖν κρεσσόνων.

A great evil is a gossiping tongue, and the slander returns to the slanderer.

- E., 721. εἰ δὲ κακὸν εἴποις, τάχα κ' αὐτὸς μείζον ἀκούσῃς.
 P., II, 76. ἄμαχον κακὸν ἀμφοτέροις διωβολιῶν ὑποφάτιες.
 O., I, 54. ἀκέρδεια λέλογχεν θαμινὰ κακαγόρους.

A good neighbor is a great blessing; a bad one a serious misfortune.

- E., 346. πῆμα κακὸς γείτων, ὅσσον τ' ἀγαθὸς μέγ' ὄνειαρ
 ἔμμορέ τοι τιμῆς ὅστ' ἔμμορε γείτονος ἐσθλοῦ.

- N., VII, 87. φαῖμέν κε γείτον' ἔμμεναι
νόψ φιλήσαντ' ἀτενεί γείτονι χάρμα πάντων
ἐπάξιον.

Others may perish for the sins of a neighbor.

- E., 240. πολλάκι καὶ ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπηύρα.
P., III, 35. καὶ γειτόνων
πολλοὶ ἐπαῦρον. ἀμῇ δ' ἔφθαρεν.

The success of a close associate is apt rather to create envy than to excite pleasure.

- E., 25. καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεί κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων
καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει καὶ αἰοδὸς αἰοιδῷ.
P., I, 84. ἀστῶν δ' ἀκοὰ κρύφιον θυμὸν βαρύνει
μάλιστ' ἐσλοῖσιν ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίοις.

Craft and cunning are praised rather than integrity.

- E., 190. οὐδέ τις εὐόρκον χάρις ἔσσεται οὔτε δίκαιον
οὔτ' ἀγαθοῦ. μᾶλλον δὲ κακῶν ῥεκτῆρα καὶ ὕβριν
ἀνέρα τιμήσουσι.
P., IV, 139. ἐντὶ μὲν θνατῶν φρένες ὠκύτεραι
κέρδος αἰνῆσαι πρὸ δίκας δόλιον.

Money has become the chief thing in life, and honor and favor attend it.

- E., 686. χρήματα γὰρ ψυχὴ πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι.
E., 313. πλούτῳ δ' ἀρετὴ καὶ κῦδος ὀπηδεῖ.
I. II, 11. χρήματα χρήματ' ἀνὴρ.
P., V, 1. ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής.
O., II, 11. πλοῦτόν τε καὶ χάριν.

Each poet regarded war as an awful thing, while peace was an ideal blessing.

Hesiod thus describes the city of complete happiness:

- E. 228. εἰρήνη δ' ἀνὰ γῆν κουροτρόφος, οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοῖς
ἀργαλέον πόλεμον τεκμαίρεται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς.

Cf. also E. 160.

Pind., Frag., { γλυκὺ δ' ἀπείρουσι πόλεμος · πεπειραμένων δέ τις
110. { ταρβεί προσιόντα νιν καρδίᾳ περισσῶς.

MAN IN RELATION TO HIMSELF.

Inborn or god-given graces are the best.

E., 320. θεόσδοτα πολλὸν ἀμείνω.

O., IX, 100. τὸ δὲ φυᾷ κράτιστον ἅπαν.

But the god-sent gifts or native qualities must be improved, for by labor alone can success be secured. The importance and necessity of labor is the constant theme of both poets.

The first two verses are the text of the "Works and Days:"

E., 304. τῷ δὲ θεοὶ νεμεσῶσι καὶ ἄνδρες, ὅς κεν ἀεργὸς
ζῷῃ.

E., 311. ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργίῃ δέ τ' ὄνειδος.

P., V, 54. πόνων δ' οὐ τις ἀπόκλαρός ἐστιν οὔτ' ἔσεται.

P., XII, 28. εἰδέ τις ὄλβος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν, ἄνεν καμάτου
οὐ φαίνεται.

N., IX, 44. ἔκ πόνωνδ' — τελέθει πρὸς γῆρας
αἰὼν ἀμέρα.

Ultimate good, as well as present gain, must be considered.

E., 293. οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὅς αὐτῷ πάντα νοήσῃ.
φρασσάμενος τά κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ᾗσιν ἀμείνω.

O., VII, 26. ὅτι νῦν ἐν καὶ τελευτᾷ φέρτατον ἀνδρὶ τυχεῖν.

Considered as the ideal wisdom.

Moderation in all things is to be observed, and the proper time must be regarded.

E., 40. Νήπιοι, οὐδὲ ἴσασιν, ὅσῳ πλεόν ἡμῖν παντός.

E., 306. σοὶ δ' ἔργα φίλ' ἔστω μέτρια κοσμεῖν,

E., 694. μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι · καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος.

O., XIII, 47. ἔπεται δ' ἐν ἐκάστῳ
μέτρον · νοῆσαι δὲ καιρὸς ἄριστος,

- P., II, 34. *χρὴ δὲ καθ' αὐτὸν αἰεὶ παντὸς ὄρῶν μέτρον,*
 N., XI, 47. *κερδέων δὲ χρὴ μέτρον θηρεύμεν,*
 I., V, 71. *μέτρα μὲν γνῶμα διώκων, μέτρα δὲ καὶ κατέχων.*
 Frag., 216. *σοφοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν ἔπος αἶνησαν περισσῶς.*

Temperance in speech is enjoined.

- E., 719. *Γλώσσης τοι θησαυρὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστος*
 φειδωλῆς, πλείστη δὲ χάρις κατὰ μέτρον ἰούσης.
 N., V, 18. *καὶ τὸ σιγᾶν πολλάκις ἐστὶ σοφώτατον ἀνθρώπου*
 νοῆσαι.

It is best to be contented with that which is at hand, and not to yearn after that which is distant.

- E., 366. *ἔσθλὸν μὲν παρόντος ἐλέσθαι, πῆμα δὲ θυμῷ*
 χρηίζειν ἀπέοντος, ἃ σε φράζεσθαι ἄνωγα.
 P., III, 21. *ἔστι δὲ φύλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ματαιότατον*
 ὅστις αἰσχύνων ἐπιχώρια παπταίνει τὰ πόρσω.

Experience may be a dear teacher, but it is a sure one.

- E., 219. *παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω.*
 I., I, 40. *ὃ πονήσας δὲ νόψ καὶ προμάθειαν φέρει.*

Each poet looked forward to old age, with displeasure.

- T., 225. *γῆράς τ' οὐλόμενον.*
 T., 604. *ὀλοὸν γῆρας.*
 E., 114. *δειλὸν γῆρας.*
 P., X, 41. *γῆρας οὐλόμενον.*
 N., X, 83. *γῆρας ἐπεχθόμενον.*

The ethical ideas of Pindar are practically the same as those of Hesiod, except that the very high place given to *δίκη* in Hesiod's poetry is occupied by *ἀλάθεια* in the poetry of Pindar. But these two terms *δίκη* and *ἀλάθεια* seem to be only different expressions for the same essential idea.

MYTHOLOGY.

INDIVIDUAL GODS AND HEROES.

Ge, the firstborn of Chaos, the common mother of all, both gods and men.

E., 563. Γῆ πάντων μήτηρ.

O., VII, 38. Γαῖα μάτηρ.

From *Ge* the origin of the gods was traced (T., 45, 245); cf. also

E., 108. ὥς δ' μόθεν γεγάασι θεοὶ θνητοί τ' ἄνθρωποι.

N., VI, 1-3. ἔν' ἀνδρῶν
ἔν' θεῶν γένος ἐκ μιᾶς δὲ πνέομεν
ματρὸς ἀμφοτέροι.

Uranus, the husband of *Ge*, first personified in Hesiod (T., 45), by *Ge* becomes the father of many gods (T., 126 ff.). Pindar joins *Uranus* and *Ge* in such a way, that he must have considered them a wedded pair. (P., VII, 38.)

There is no god *Uranus* in Homer; οὐρανίῳνες merely designates place, it is not a patronymic which implies a god *Uranus*.

Pindar, by giving *Uranus* a definite personality, follows Hesiod and differs from Homer.

In naming *Ge* and *Uranus* as the original parents, both poets are at variance with Homer, who definitely gives a different origin.

Iliad, XIV, 201. Ὀκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν.

CRONUS AND THE "ISLANDS OF THE BLESSED."

Cronus, son of *Uranus* (T., 137; P., III, 4), husband of *Rhea* (T., 453; O., II, 85), and father of the most powerful gods (T., 453; P., IV, 118), was vanquished by his son *Zeus*, who hurled him and the *Titans* into *Tartarus*. *Zeus* at length became reconciled, and placed his father as ruler in the "Islands of the Blessed."

(E., 169.) τοῖσιν Κρόνος ἐμβασιλεύει
καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναίουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες

ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ' Ὀκεανὸν βαθυδίνην,
ὄλβιοι ἦρωες.

O., II, 77-9. ἔτειλαν Διὸς δδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν ·

ἔνθα μακάρων
νάσος ὠκεανίδες
αὔρῃ περιπνέουσιν, ἄνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ φλέγει.

In Homer, Cronus still suffers in Tartarus. (Il., VIII, 479.)

ἴν' Ἰαπετός τε Κρόνος τε
ἤμενοι οὔτ' αὐγῆς Ὑγπερίονος Ἡελίοιο
τέρποντ' οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι, βαθὺς δέ τε Τάρταρος ἀμφίς.

There are no "Islands of the Blessed" in Homer; Homeric heroes looked to a different fate.

The very heroes which in Hesiod are made to people the "Islands of the Blessed" are in Homer consigned to a gloomy fate, preferring any condition of life, to the happiest lot possible in the land of the "departed."

Compare Hesiod's and Pindar's picture of the future condition of noble heroes with the words of Achilles. (Od., XI, 488.)

μή δῃ μοι θάνατόν γε παραῖδα φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ
βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θηγευέμεν ἄλλω.
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ ᾧ μὴ βίोटος πολὺς εἴη.
ἧ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.

ZEUS.

Zeus, son of Cronus and Rhea, is by preëminence *Κρονίων*, and needs in either author no other name to distinguish him. This title he shares with none. He is *πατὴρ Ζεὺς* (E., 259; P., IV, 23), king of the gods (T., 886; O., VII, 34), to whom the sceptre belongs (Hesiod, Frag., 128; P., I, 6). Zeus is supreme among them. *Ζεὺς — φέρτατός ἐστι θεῶν* (T., 49; I., VI, 5), the source of power both in heaven and in earth, ruler alike among gods and men (T., 545, 550; Frag., 24; I., III, 53, and often). Success and failure come to men according to his will.

E., 638. ἀλλὰ κακὴν πενίην τὴν Ζεὺς ἀνδρεσσι δίδωσι.

S., 328. νῦν δὲ Ζεὺς κράτος ἔμμι διδοί.

Cf. E., 245, and introduction to the "Works and Days."

- P., V, 122. Διὸς τοι νόος μέγας κυβερνᾷ
δαίμον' ἀνδρῶν φίλων.
N., X, 29. Ζεῦ πάτερ — — πᾶν δὲ τέλος ἐν τὴν ἔργων.
I., IV, 53. Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων κύριος.

He is also a god of truth and justice, Δίκη and Αλάθεια are his children (E., 36, 256; O., X, 4; XIII, 7). By his power the just flourish, and the wicked are overthrown (E., 230-38, 280; P., II, 68-74).

His ways are apparently changeable

- E., 483. ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλοις Ζηνὸς νόος αἰγιόχοιο.
I., IV, 52. Ζεὺς τὰ τε καὶ τὰ νέμει.

He also controls the elements, hence the rain is from him. (E., 488; O., VII, 50.) Ζεὺς ὕει.

The lightning is his especial weapon, by which he can face and vanquish his enemies (T., 853; P., VI, 24).

Had Zeus constantly exercised full power, none of the other gods could have had any part in the government of the world, but Zeus often lent his power to others, who exercised certain rights under his authority, hence the poets prayed to other gods as well as Zeus.

Neither poet seems to have definitely conceived of the boundaries which limit the authority of the lesser divinities, who, while in complete subjection to Zeus, might yet grant favor and honors to others.

POSEIDON.

Poseidon, brother of Zeus, occupies a very obscure position in Hesiod, while he is prominent in Pindar, because of his connection with the games. In both poets, he is γαιήοχος (T., 15; O., I, 25). βαρύκτυπος (T., 818; O., I, 74). Εὐρυβίης applies to him and his descendants (T., 931; P., II, 12; IV, 175).

Neither the word βαρύκτυπος nor εὐρυβίης is found in Homer.

He is the husband of Amphitrite, πόσις Ἀμφιτρίτης (T., 930; O., VI, 105), the father of Euphamus — a non-Homeric hero. (Hesiod, Frag., 152; P., IV, 44.)

He protects and controls those who venture upon the sea

(E., 667; O., VI, 103). In company with Apollo he built the walls of Troy. (Frag., 142; O., VIII, 31.)

He was the friend and protector of Thebes (S., 104-5.)

τιμᾷ σὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ταύρεος Ἐννοσίγαιος
ὃς Θήβης κρήδεμνον ἔχει ῥύεταί τε πόλῃα.

While not expressly stated, his importance in Pindar may not be due entirely to Poseidon's connection with the games, but may have a coloring of Theban pride.

HADES.

Hades is the grim god of the lower world (T., 850; O., IX, 33).

He and his wife Persephone receive the dead within their gloomy home. (T., 774; O., XIV, 21.)

To die is to go to him, and death is to be with him (E., 153; P., III, 11). His name is used both for death itself, and the place of the dead. (S., 151; N., VII, 30; P., IV, 43.)

APOLLO.

Ἀητοίδης (S., 479; P., IV, 259) was one of the later born deities, Hesiod (E., 770) names the day celebrated as Apollo's birthday, showing that his birth came after the establishment of some sort of a calendar, and agreeing with this is Pind. Frag., 147, ἐν χρόνῳ δ' ἐγένετ' Ἀπόλλων. Apollo has in each the following epithets. Φοῖβος (T., 14; P., I, 39), ἄναξ (S., 100; P., VIII, 67), ἀκερσεκόμης (Frag., 148; P., III, 14), χρυσάωρ, a non-Homeric word (O., 771; P., V, 104).

The golden lyre is his favorite instrument, with which he accompanies the dance of the Muses. (S., 201; P., V, 104.)

With the Muses, he is the inspirer of music, and the divine guide of minstrels. (T., 94; P., IV, 176.)

APOLLO AND CORONIS.

(Story as given by Pindar.)

P., III, 5-16. Coronis, the daughter of Phlegyas, who dwelt on the borders of the Boëbian Lake, became pregnant by Apollo. Coronis, before the child was born, shared the couch of Ischys, a native of Arcadia. Apollo, then at Pytho, perceived her guilt, and sent his sister to punish the erring Coronis.

Relatives placed the damsel on the pyre, but, when the fires grew bright, Phœbus could not endure the destruction of his own seed, but rescued the embryo, while the faithless mother perished. Asclepius, the child thus born, was slain by Zeus for attempting to restore the dead to life. This story is from Hesiod as the following fragments show:

Hesiod, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{* Η οἷη Διδύμους ἱεροὺς ναίονσα κολωνοῦς} \\ \text{Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ πολυβότρυνος ἄντ' Ἀμύροιο} \\ \text{νύψυτο Βοιβιάδος λίμνης πόδα παρθένος ἀδμής.} \end{array} \right.$
Frag., 147.

This passage, quoted by the scholiast to Pindar to explain Βοιβιάδος, refers to Coronis.

Frag. 148, also quoted by the scholiast to Pindar,

τῷ μὲν ἄρ' ἄγγελος ἦλθε κόραξ ἱερῆς ἀπὸ δαιτὸς,
Πυθῷ ἐς ἡγαθέην, φράσσειν δ' ἄρα ἔργ' αἰδήλα
Φοῖβω ἀκερσεκόμῃ, ὅτ' ἄρ' Ἴσχυς ἔγχευε Κόρωνιν
Εἰλατίδης, Φλεγύαο διογνήτοιο θύγατρα.

In addition to other marked agreements, Apollo in each is Φοῖβω ἀκερσεκόμῃ. It is entirely in keeping with Pindar's higher notions of divinity that Apollo should perceive for himself the deed, which, by the older tradition, is brought to his knowledge by means of a raven.

Just as Pindar refuses to assign to the gods crimes inconsistent with divine goodness, so he changes myths, which do not harmonize with the belief in divine omniscience.

There is no fragment from Hesiod which expressly states that Coronis was the mother of Asclepius. Yet it seems certain that he considered him as her son.

The scholiast to P., III, 14, says, "Some call Ἀρσινόη, others Κορωνίς, the mother of Asclepius," and then immediately adds, "ἐν δὲ τοῖς εἰς Ἡσίοδον ἀναφερομένοις ἔπεισι φέρεται ταῦτα περὶ τῆς Κορωνίδος" (Frag., 148), thus implying that Hesiod regarded her as the mother of Asclepius. A further proof is this: while the scholiast to Pindar quotes Hesiod as giving a different tradition from Pindar, in reference to the method by which Apollo was informed of Caronis' guilt, he makes no reference to a disagreement in regard to the personality of the mother of Asclepius.

On the death of Asclepius, Hesiod, Frag., 109 :

Περὶ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Ἡσίοδος μὲν,
 Πατὴρ δ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε
 χῶσατ' ἀπ' Οὐλύμπου δὲ βαλὼν ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ
 ἔκτανε Λητοίδην φίλον σὺν θυμὸν δρίνων.
 τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν δ' ὑπὸ Διὸς κεραυνωθῆναι
 γέγραφεν Ἡσίοδος καὶ Πίνδαρος.

Much of the last two lines is conjecture.

APOLLO AND CYRENE.

[The Story as given by Pindar.]

P., IX, 5-78. Cyrene, a beautiful maiden, who scorned the gentler tasks, while wrestling with a lion, was seen by Apollo, who, enamored of her charms, carried her from her native Pelion to Libya, where she bore him a son, who was named Aristæus.

This was from Hesiod, as the scholiast to P., IX, writes :

ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡοίας Ἡσιόδου τὴν ἱστορίαν ἔλαβεν
 ὁ Πίνδαρος, ἥς ἡ ἀρχή.

Frag., 149. *Ἡ οἷα Φθίγῃ Χαρίτων ἀπο κάλλος ἔχουσα
 Πηνειοῦ παρ' ὕδαρ καλὴ ναίεσκε Κυρήνη.

Hesiod mentions also the son of Cyrene and Apollo, Aristæus. (Frag., 150.)

Apollo and Poseidon built the wall of Troy. (Hesiod, Frag., 142; O., VIII, 31.)

From the nature of the poetry, Apollo plays a much more important rôle in Pindar than in Hesiod.

ARES.

Ares is the stern god of war, to whom the epithet οὐλιος is frequently applied. (S., 192, 441; O., IX, 76; XIII, 23.) οὐλιος is never so used in Homer. In him (Ares) war is personified, and his deeds are the exploits of battle. (S., 128; E., 145; O., X, 14.)

Except as the father of Cynus, Ares is scarcely mentioned by Hesiod.

HERMES.

Hermes, the messenger of the gods, was born at Cyllene. (Hesiod, Frag. 13; O., VI, 78.) Ἑρμῆν κήρυκ' ἀθανάτων (T., 938; O., VI, 78.) He is Κλυτὸς Ἑρμῆς (E., 84; P., IX, 60.) In his capacity as messenger of the gods, he carried Pandora from heaven to earth (E., 84), and for a similar reason he carried the infant son of Cyrene from his mother to the Horæ and Ge. (P., IX, 59.)

HEPHÆSTUS.

Hephæstus is but little noticed in either poet; he is the artificer in metals (S., 319; O., VII, 35), and stands as the representative of fire. (T., 866; P., I, 25.)

HERA.

Hera, sister and wife of Zeus. (T., 328, 454; N., XI, 2; P., II, 27.) Argos was especially dear to her (T., 11.) Ἥρην Ἀργείην (N., X, 2.) Ἀργὸς Ἥρας δῶμα. As wife of Zeus she is indignant at his faithlessness, and hates his sons by mortal women; hence she was the bitter foe of Heracles. (T., 314; N., I, 39.)

In Hesiod she is the *golden* sandaled (T., 12); in Pindar the *golden* throned. (N., I, 38.)

THEMIS AND THE HORÆ.

Themis in both authors occupies a very exalted position as the wife and companion of Zeus and the mother of the Horæ.

T., 901. Δεύτερον ἡγάγετο λιπαρὴν Θέμιν, ἣ τέκεν Ὠρας
Εὐνομίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τεθαλύναν,

O., XIII, 6-8. ἐν τῇ γὰρ Εὐνομία ναίει κασιγνήτα τε,
βάθρον πολλίων ἀσφαλές,
Δίκα καὶ δμότροφος Εἰρήνη, ταμίαι
ἀνδράσι πλούτου,
χρύσεαι παῖδες εὐβούλον Θέμιτος.

Pind., { Θέμιν—σωτήρος ἀρχαίαν ἄλοχον Διὸς ἔμμεν
Frag., 30. { ἃ δὲ τὰς χρυσάμπυκας ἀγλαοκάρπους τίκτεν
ἀλαθείας Ὠρας.

Hesiod names the wives of Zeus in the following order (T., 886 ff.): Metis, Themis, Eurynome, Demeter, Mnemosyne, Leto, "and then he married Hera last of all."

Themis was thus the second wife of Zeus. Pindar, by the fact that he calls Themis the mother of the Horæ, and also
 O ἀρχαίαν ἄλοχον Διὸς, is certainly following Hesiod in his divergence from Homer. (Cf. Il., XIV, 292.)

Ἦρῃ δὲ κραιπνῶς προσεβήσεται Γάργαρον ἄκρον
 Ἰδὲς ὑψηλῆς· ἴδε δὲ νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς.
 ὧς δ' ἴδεν, ὧς μιν ἔρως πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν
 οἶον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ ἐμισγέσθην φιλότῃτι
 εἰς εὐνὴν φοιτῶντε φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας.

φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας could not apply to a god who is taking his seventh wife, after he has deposed his father, which Hesiod asserts; so that he and Homer must represent a different tradition. As the marriages of Zeus were practical rather than ceremonial, these accounts are not to be reconciled by making the tradition in Homer refer to clandestine meetings, those in Hesiod to open marriage; an explanation offered, but not accepted, by Schoemann. (Opuscula, II, 48.)

Themis in Homer is the servant of Zeus, who does not advise, but obeys. (Il., XX, 4, and elsewhere.) In Hesiod and Pindar Themis is a powerful goddess, the wife and adviser of Zeus.

The Horæ in Homer are servants merely. They guard the gates of heaven (Il., V, 749), they unyoke the team for Hera and Athena, and care for the chariots and horses. (Il., VIII, 432-6.) In Hesiod and Pindar they become the potent friends of mortals, guarding and encouraging them in order, justice, and peace. Homer never mentions their number or parentage; Pindar exactly agrees with Hesiod, giving them the same names and parentage, and mentioning them in exactly the same order.

ATHENA.

Athena sprang from the head of Zeus. (T., 924; O., VII, 36; Frag., 34.) She was called *κούρην γλαυκῶπιδα*. (T., 895; N., VII, 96.) Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη. (S., 126; P., XII, 7.) Born from the head of Zeus, she was wise herself, and taught wisdom to others. She

taught Pandora the useful arts (E., 63), told Bellerophon how to master Pegasus (O., XIII, 65), and instructed the Rhodians. (O., VII, 51.)

She was also bold and warlike. (T., 924-6.)

αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς γλαυκώπιδα γείνατ' Ἀθήνην,
δαινὴν, ἐγρεκίδοιμον, ἀγέστρατον, ἀτρυτώνην,
πότνιαν, ἧ κέλαδοί τε ἄδον πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε.

N., III, 50. θρασεῖ Ἀθάνα,

N., X, 84. σὺν τ' Ἀθαναίᾳ κελαινεγχεῖ τ' Ἄρει.

Athena, like her father, wears the ægis. (S., 200; O., XIII, 70.)

Homer does not mention the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, although he expressly calls her his child. (Il., IV, 515; V, 880.)

APHRODITE.

T., 199. Κυπρογενέα δ' ὅτι γέντο πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ Κύπρῳ, hence she is called also Κύπρις (Hesiod, Frag. 4). Κυπρογένεια (P., IV, 216). Κυπρία (O., I, 77). Κύπρις (Frag., 217).

To her the non-Homeric adjective is applied, ἐλικοβλέφαρος. (T., 16; P., Frag. 123, 5.) The charms of love are her gifts. (S., 8, 47.)

S., 47. τερπόμενος δώροισι πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

O., I, 77. φίλια δῶρα Κυπρίας. She causes the birth of passion, while longings and desires attend her. (T., 201 ff; Pindar, Frag. 122, 5; N., VIII, 1; P., IV, 216.) Aphrodite stands also for the enjoyment of passions, and to know her is to gratify them. (T., 980; O., VI, 35.)

Ares was her recognized official husband (T., 933), so that Pindar thought him sufficiently designated by that title alone. (P., IV, 87.) χαλκάρματος πόσις Ἀφροδίτης. Neither Hesiod nor Pindar recognized the tradition given in Odyssey, VIII, 266 ff., which made Hephæstus the husband of Aphrodite.

LETO.

Leto, the daughter of Κοῖος (T., 404; Pindar, Frag., 88, 2), was the mother of Apollo and Artemis. She was of a kindly nature,

and therefore beloved. (T., 407; Pind., Frag. 117.) Leto, in neither poet, wields any perceptible influence, other than as the mother of Apollo and Artemis.

HESTIA.

Hestia is mentioned but once in each poet, and in each with exactly the same parentage.

T., 453. Ῥεῖα δ' ὑποδηθεῖσα Κρόνῳ τέκε φαίδιμα τέκνα,
Ἰστίην, Δήμητρα, καὶ Ἥρην χρυσοπέδιλον.
Ζῆνά τε μητιόεντα.

N., XI, 1. Παῖ Ῥέας, ἃ τε πρυτανεῖα λέλογχας, Ἐστία,
Ζηνὸς ὑψίστου κασιγνήτα καὶ ὁμοθρόνον Ἥρας.

In vs. 6, Pindar addresses her as *πρώταν θεῶν*. It will be observed that in Hesiod, Hestia was the first child born to Rhea and Cronus. These verses in Hesiod offer the proper explanation of the word *πρώταν* in the phrase *πρώταν θεῶν* applied to Hestia by Pindar. This interpretation makes the application of *πρώταν* perfectly obvious, suiting the passage in Pindar much better than the accepted explanation, which is thus stated by Christ (P., XI, 6), "*πρώταν θεῶν non quod princeps deorum fuerit; sed quod ei primæ novi magistratus operabantur.*"

As the names Rhea, Hestia, Hera, and Zeus occur in the short sentence in Pindar, as well as in Hesiod, the connection is obvious.

THE MUSES.

The Muses were children of Mnemosyne and Zeus. (T., 54; O., X, 96; I., V, 75.) Pieria was sacred to them, hence they were called *Πιερίδες*. (S., 206; O., X, 96.)

Helicon also contained a spot sacred to them, and so they were called *Ἑλικωνιάδες*. (T., 1; I., II, 34.) As Olympus was both the birthplace and the home of the Muses, this epithet must have been used by each poet with a feeling of local pride.

They are *χρυσάμπυκες Μοῦσαι* (T., 916; P., III, 89; I., II, 1), "sweet voiced." (T., 965; O., VI, 21.) Song was their gift, *Μουσάων δόσις*. (T., 93.) *Μοισᾶν δόσιν*. (O., VII, 7.) Poets were inspired by them. (T., 93; O., III, 5.)

The Muses furnish a return for toil, and their charms banish care. (T., 55, 97; N. VII, 15; IV, 1.)

By their favor a man's fame may survive his death. (Hesiod, Frag. 217; N., IV, 6.)

Homer never names the mother of the Muses. Pindar's close agreement with Hesiod is especially to be noted, because there were many different traditions in reference to her.

Eurip. Medea, 832. ἐννέα Πιερίδας Μούσας λέγονσι,
ξανθὰν Ἀρμονίαν φυτεῦσαι.

Others name Κλυμένη, Hyginus, p. 10, Munck, and others Antiope, Cicero, De Natura Deorum, III, 21-54, and others named others.

Πιερίδες as an epithet of the Muses is unknown in Homer. Pieria is mentioned by him (Il., XIV, 226; Od., V, 50), but in no way connected with the Muses.

Χρυσάμπυκες is never applied to the Muses in Homer, but is used only in the phrase χρυσάμπυκας ἵππους. (Il., V, 720, and elsewhere.)

THE GRACES.

T., 907. τρεῖς δέ οἱ Εὐρυνόμη Χάριτας τέκε καλλιπαρῆους
Ἀγλαίην τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνην Θαλίην τ' ἐρατεινήν.
οἱ in the first verse refers to Zeus.

O., XIV, 4-16. Χάριτες — — —
ὦ πότνι' Ἀγλαΐα φιλησίμολπέ τ'
Εὐφροσύνα θεῶν κρατίστων.
παῖδες, ἐπακοῦτε γῆν Θαλία τε.

Here Pindar follows Hesiod, calling the Graces the children of Zeus, giving them the same names, and placing them in exactly the same order. Homer neither names the parents of the Graces nor gives to them a definite number, but he certainly regards them as more than three. (Il., XIV, 275-6.)

ἦ μὲν ἐμοὶ δώσειν Χαρίτων μίαν ὀπλοτεράων,
Πασιθέην, ἥς τ' αὐτὸς ἐέλδομαι ἥματα πάντα,

There can be no question that μίαν ὀπλοτεράων presupposes

more than three. Πασιθέη, who is one of the Graces in Homer, is not of their number in Hesiod or Pindar.

THE FATES.

T., 904. Μοίρας θ' ἧς πλείστην τιμὴν πόρε μητιέτα Ζεὺς
Κλωθὼ τε Λάχεσιν τε καὶ Ἄτροπον,

I., V, 17. Κλωθὼ κασιγνήτας τε Μοίρας.

O., VII, 4. Λάχεσις is referred to as one of the Fates.

This conception of the Fates is entirely foreign to Homer, who never names them individually nor gives them a definite number. κλωθὼ, a name given to one of the Fates by Hesiod and Pindar, is used in Homer, but it is not the name of an individual, for the plural is used (Od., VII, 197), and it is interchangeable with αἶσα throughout.

Homer uses μοῖρα both in the singular and plural, singular (Od., 17, 326), and often, plural. (Il., 24, 49.)

HELIUS.

T., 371. Θεία δ' Ἡέλιον τε μέγαν λαμπράν τε Σελήνην
γείναθ' ὑποδμηθεῖς Ὑπερίονος ἐν φιλότῃτι.

I., IV, 1. Μᾶτερ Ἀελίου πολυνύμφε Θεία.

Pindar here calls Helius the son of Theia, and as he calls him Ὑπεριόνιδας (O., VII, 39), there can be no doubt that he follows Hesiod in giving a definite personality to Helius as the son of Theia and Hyperion.

Homer regularly identifies Helius and Hyperion. (Il., VIII, 480 and Od., 1, 8.) Ὑπερίονος Ἡελίοιο. (Od., I, 24, and Il., XIX, 398.) Ὑπερίων is used alone of Ἡέλιος. However, Od., XII, 176, has Ἡέλιος Ὑπεριονίδης. This verse is perhaps spurious, but even if it be genuine, Ὑπεριονίδης probably means exactly the same as Ὑπερίων, as is shown from the frequent use of patronymic forms without true patronymic meaning. A large number of examples of this use has been collected by Passow, Opuscula, p. 203. In Hesiod and Pindar Ὑπεριονίδης means the son of Ὑπερίων; in Homer it means Ὑπερίων. (Cf. Usener, Götternamen, pp. 18 ff.)

Pindar further follows Hesiod in naming Θεία as the mother

of Helius. Another tradition, found in H. Hom., 31-4, names Εὐρυφάεσσα as the mother.

Ἑλείθνια.

T., 921. λιοισθοτάτην δ' Ἥρην θαλερὴν ποιήσατ' ἀκοιτίν,
ἧ δ' Ἥβην καὶ Ἄρην καὶ Εἰλείθνιαν ἔτικτε
μιχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότῃ θεῶν βασιλῇ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,

N., VII, 1-5. Ἑλείθνια πάρεδρε Μοιρᾶν
παῖ — — Ἥρας
τεὰν ἀδελφεὰν Ἥβαν.

Here Pindar exactly follows Hesiod in regard to the parentage of Ἑλείθνια. In giving a definite personality to this divinity, he follows Hesiod and differs from Homer.

In Homer Ἑλείθνια is now singular (Il., XIX, 103; XVI, 187; Od., XIX, 188); now plural. (Il., XI, 270; XIX, 114.)

ATLAS.

T. 517. Ἄτλας δ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχει κρυτερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
πεύρασιν ἐν γαίῃς, πρόπαρ Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων,
ἔσθῃώς, κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτῃσι χέρεσσιν.

P., IV, 289. καὶ μὰν κείνος Ἄτλας οὐρανῷ
προσπαλαίει νῦν γε πατρώας ἀπὸ γᾶς
ἀπὸ τε κτεάνων.

In each poet the idea is the same; Atlas comes in personal contact with the heaven he supports; Pindar here follows Hesiod, who differs from Homer. (Od., I, 52-4.)

Ἄτλαντος θυγάτηρ ὀλοόφρονος, ὅς τε θαλάσσης
πάσης βένθεα οἶδεν, ἔχει δέ τε κίονας αὐτὸς
μακράς, αἱ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν.

Here Atlas does not support the heavens, but they rest upon pillars, a conception which could not admit the Pindaric προσπαλαίει.

TYCHE.

Τύχη as a divinity, first appears in Hesiod (T., 360), where she was called the daughter of Oceanus.

She was also considered a divinity by Pindar (Od., XII, 2; Frag. 41), but he regarded her as the child of Zeus; and in Frag. 41, quoted by Pausanias, she was called one of the Μοῖραι.

AIDOS.

Αἰδώς was called a goddess by Hesiod, and given a dwelling among the gods of Olympus.

E., 200. Pindar. (N., IX, 33.) Αἰδώς — κείνα θεός.

NEMESIS.

Nemesis was considered a stern goddess by each poet. (T., 223; P., X, 44; O., VIII, 86.)

NEREUS.

The "Old Man of the Sea" was kindly disposed and the giver of sound advice. The *Nereids* are his daughters, who were first given the definite number fifty. (T., 263.) Hesiod was followed in this by Pindar (I., V, 6), Νηρείδεσσί τε πεντήκοντα. Three of those named in Hesiod are prominent in Pindar: *Amphitrite*, the wife of Poseidon (O., VI, 105); *Thetis*, who married Peleus, and by him became the mother of Achilles. (P., III, 92.)

And a third, not mentioned by Homer, Ψαμάθη, who is named by both poets as the mother of Phocus by Aeacus. (T., 1003-5; N., V, 8-13.)

Nereus is not mentioned by name in Homer. Νηρηίδες is found only in the passage Σ., 38-52, which was rejected, as the scholiast tells us, by the Alexandrian critics. ὁ τῶν Νηρείδων χόρος προηέτηται καὶ παρὰ Ζηνοδότῳ ὡς Ἡσιόδειον ἔχων χαρακτηριστήρα.

MEMNON.

Memnon, son of Eos and king of the Æthiopians, bore aid to the Trojans and was slain by Achilles. (T., 984; Frag. 48; P., VI, 31; N., III, 63, VI, 56; I., IV, 40.)

While the story of Memnon is not in Homer, it occupies a very prominent place in the Æthiopsis.

THE GORGONS.

Γοργόνες ἄπληται (S., 230; P., XII, 9), three in number, were the children of Phorcys. One of them, Medusa, was mortal, and

she was slain by Perseus, Danae's son, who carried away her head as a trophy. Here, again, Pindar follows Hesiod. In Homer neither Phorcys nor Perseus was in any way connected with the Gorgons. Medusa was not mentioned by name, and the word Gorgo was used only in the singular.

BELLEROPHON.

Bellerophon, with the aid of Pegasus, slew the fire-breathing Chimæra.

Pegasus was sprung from the blood of Medusa, and after assisting Bellerophon was received into the Olympian stables of Zeus. (T., 304-25, 276-84; O., XIII, 82-92.) The story of Pegasus first appears in Hesiod, not even the name occurs in Homer.

TYPHÆUS.

Typhœus, the monster of a hundred heads, having been hurled to Tartarus by Zeus, was by him imprisoned under the weight of Ætna. (T., 821-69; P., I, 15; VIII, 16; O., IV, 5.)

CADMUS.

Theban Cadmus married Harmonia, and by her became the father of four daughters, Ἴνω, Σεμέλη, Ἀγαθή, and Αὐτονόη. (T., 936, 976; P., III, 91-99; XI, 1.)

Cadmus receives only a chance notice in Homer.

SEMELE AND DIONYSUS.

Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, bore to Zeus an immortal son, Dionysus. Semele, at her death, was given immortality and taken to dwell with her son on Olympus. (T., 940 ff.; O., II, 28 ff.). Pindar fully agrees with Hesiod in the traditions concerning Dionysus, and applies to him the epithet πολυγηθής first used of Dionysus in Hesiod. (T., 941, πολυγηθής Διόνυσος Pind., Frag., 153.) Similar are the phrases (E., 614) δῶρα Διωνύσου πολυγαθέος, (Pind., Frag., 29) τὰν Διωνύσου πολυγαθέα τιμάν.

HERACLES.

While Amphitryon was engaged in the conquest of the Teleboæ Zeus appeared to the wife Alcmenē in the guise of her

absent husband, and became, by her, the father of Heracles. (S., 19; N., X, 15.) On the same day that Alcmene bore Heracles to Zeus, she bore a son, Iphicles, to her husband also. (S., 55; P., IX, 86.)

Heracles was the victim of Hera's wrath, which ruthlessly followed him. (T., 314; N., I, 39.) In spite of her he grew to be a mighty hero. *Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱὸς*. (S., 320; O., X, 44.)

He slew the Nemean lion (T., 327; I., V, 47), won the fight with Cynus (S., 400; O., X, 15), and was more than a match for the gods themselves. (S., 259; O., IX, 29.)

He slew Geryones and drove away his cattle. (T., 287, 982; I., I, 12; Frag., 169, 5.)

Heracles was often attended by his brave kinsmen Iolaus. (S., 120; P., XI, 60; I., I, 16-30.)

At the close of his life and labors he was received into the number of the blessed gods, where, with Hebe, his charming wife, he lives forever in blissful rest and peace. (T., 950 ff.; N., I, 69 ff.) Heracles is given, in each poet, the highest place assigned to any hero. Neither poet tires in referring to the birth and fame of his own "Theban-born" hero. *Ἡρακλῆος Θηβαγενέος*. (T., 530.)

The praise is the same in spirit in each, but the lines seldom cross, for Heracles is most prominent in Hesiod as the slayer of Cynus, while in Pindar he is praised for his connection with the games.

HEBE.

The praise given to Heracles was in a measure shared by his goddess wife, Hebe, who is called by each poet *χρυσοστέφανος* *Ἡβη*. (T., 17; O., VI, 58; P., IX, 109.)

In T., 17, she was classed with the deities of the first rank, Zeus, Apollo, Athena, and Hera.

IOLAUS.

Iolaus is spoken of in Pindar as a valiant charioteer, a native of Thebes, and the son of Iphicles, the half-brother of Heracles (P., XI, 59; IX. 79), exactly agreeing with the descriptions of the same hero with which "The Shield of Heracles" abounds. Iolaus is in no way referred to in Homer.

THE ARGONAUTS.

The story of the Argonautic expedition was told in a lost poem of Hesiod's, as he is quoted as an authority on that subject by the scholiast to Apoll. Rhod. Δ, 259, 258. As the scholiast to the former passage couples the name of Hesiod with that of Pindar to prove that the voyagers came to Libya, it is probable that the groundwork of P., IV was taken from Hesiod. This connection is further proved by similar references to some who were associated with the story of the expedition, especially the following :

AIETES.

T., 958. Αἰήτης δ' υἱὸς φαεσιμβρότου Ἑλίου.

P., IV, 241. Αἰήτας Αἰλίου θαυμαστὸς υἱός.

MEDEA.

Medea is mentioned but once by Hesiod, where she is named as the child of Aietes. (T., 955. Cf. Αἰήτα—ζαμενῆς παῖς. [Medea]; P., IV, 10.) Homer never mentions Medea.

CHEIRON.

Cheiron, the son of Philyra, reared Jason, the son of Aeson, in the dells of Pelion. (T., 1001; Frag., 40; P., III, 1-4; N., III, 53; P., IV, 102, 118.) Cheiron and Jason are in no way connected in Homer. Especially striking in each poet is the matronymic Φιλυρίδης.

Cheiron was also the instructor of Achilles. This story, too, is from Hesiod, for the advice given to Achilles by Cheiron, as mentioned by Pindar (P., VI, 19-23) is said by the scholiast to have been taken from Hesiod. (Cf. Hesiod, Frag., 182.)

* * * * *

Myths mentioned in Pindar, which also occur in Hesiod, where a connection can only be assumed.

DEUCALION AND PYRRHA.

O., IX, 43. Πύρρα Δευκαλίων τε Παρνασοῦ καταβάντε
κτισσάσθαι λίθινον γόνον.

Hesiod (Frag., 220) contains a quotation from Hyginus, naming Hesiod as an authority in this matter.

MOLIANES (O., IX, 34).

Scholiast to Iliad XI, 709, and XX, III, 638 quotes Hesiod to explain the form of the monster or monsters.

HYPERBOREANS (O., III, 16).

The Hyperboreans were referred to by Hesiod. (Cf. Herodotus, IV, 32.) ἀλλ' Ἡσιόδῳ μὲν ἐστὶ περὶ Ὑπερβορέων εἰρημμένα.

ÆACUS.

Æacus was born to Zeus by Aegina. (I., VII, 23; Hesiod, Frag., 100.)

HIPPOLYTE.

The story of her passion and treachery referred to (N., IV, 57; V., 26,) is noticed in Hesiod. (Frag. 37, 38, 39.)

TANTALUS AND PELOPS.

The myth given in O., I, is probably from Hesiod, as the scholiast to verse 81 names the slain suitors, giving Hesiod as his authority. Pausanias also quotes Hesiod in regard to this myth. (VI, 21, 10.)

TELAMON AND THE AMAZONS.

N., III, 37. Telamon is referred to as going bravely to meet the Amazons.

The scholiast quotes four verses from Hesiod, giving his exploits in this fight. (Hesiod, Frag. 174.)

MOPSUS.

P., IV, 192. Μόψος μάντις.

Calchas is said to have died from grief, because of the superiority of the seer Mopsus. (Frag. 188.)

Mopsus is not mentioned in Homer.

Ἄστυδάμεια O., VI, 24. To which the scholiast says, Ὅμηρος

ταύτην Ἀστυόχην φησίν, οὐκ Ἀστυδάμειαν, Ἡσίοδος δὲ Ἀστυδάμειαν αὐτήν φησι.

Here again Pindar diverges from Homer and follows Hesiod.

RHODES.

The story of the birth of Rhodes, as given by Pindar (O., VII, 55), may have been taken from Hesiod, as he is quoted as an authority in this connection. (Cf., Hes., Frag. 49.)

PLEIADES.

N., II, 13. ὀρειᾶν γε Πελειάδων. The use of ὀρειᾶν in this phrase is explained by the scholiast, who says: "According to Hesiod the Pleiades were the children of Atlas."

LANGUAGE.

Under this head will be shown the influence Hesiod had on Pindar, as is shown in the manner of expression.

I. Homeric phrases found in Hesiod and Pindar.

Quoted in the order of Pindaric Odes, and in his dialect.

O., I, 1.	αἰθόμενον. πῦρ	T., 324.
“ 4.	φίλον ἦτορ.	T., 163.
“ 25.	γαῖάοχος Ποσειδᾶν.	T., 15.
“ 64.	νέκταρ ἀμβροσίαν τε.	T., 640.
“ 77.	φίλια δῶρα Κυπρίας.	S., 47.
“ 78.	χάλκεον ἔγχος.	S., 414.
“ 113.	ἄρματι θοῶ.	S., 97.
O., II, 30.	Ζεὺς πατήρ.	E., 143.
O., III, 24.	δέξιας αὐγαῖς Ἀελίου.	E., 413.
O., VI, 10.	ἐν νανσὶ κοίλαις.	E., 689.
“ 20.	μέγαν ὄρκον.	T., 784.
“ 64.	πέτραι ἀλίβατον.	T., 675.
“ 101.	θοῶς ἐκ ναὸς.	E., 817.
O., VII, 41.	παισὶν φίλοις.	T., 162.
“ 65.	θεῶν δ' ὄρκον μέγαν.	T., 784.
O., IX, 102.	κλέος ἀρέσθαι.	S., 107.
O., XIII, 90.	Χίμαιραν Πῦρ πνέουσιν.	T., 319.
O., XIV, 17.	Κοῦφα βιβῶντα.	S., 323.
“ 20.	δόμον Φερσεφόνας.	T., 767.
P., III, 14.	ἀκερσεκόμα—Φοῖβον.	Frag., 148, 3.
“ 104.	πνοαὶ ἀνέμων.	T., 268.
P., IV, 1.	ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ.	E., 370.
“ 6.	ἱερὰν νᾶσον.	T., 1015.
“ 23.	Κρονίων Ζεὺς πατήρ.	E., 259.
“ 64.	ἦ μάλα δῆ.	S., 103.
“ 174.	Κλέος ἐσλόν.	S., 107.
P., V, 104.	χρυσάορα Φοῖβον.	Frag. 244.
P., VIII, 71.	θεῶν δ' ὅπιν.	E., 187.
P., IX, 71.	ἐν Πυθῶνι ἀγαθέα.	T., 499.
“ 107.	μάλα πολλοί.	E., 697.
P., X, 33.	κλειτὰς ἐκατόμβας.	S., 479.

P., XI, 56.	μέλανος — θανάτου.	E., 154.
P., XII, 22.	ἀνδράσι θνατοῖς.	T., 600.
N. IV, 57.	δολαίῃς τέχναισι.	T., 555.
N., VII, 28.	ξανθῷ Μενέλα.	Frag., 117.
“ 96.	Κόραν γλαυκώπιδα.	T., 845.
N., IX, 37.	ἀμύνειν λοιγόν.	S., 240.
N., X, 56.	ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίας.	P., 300.
“ 71.	ψολόεντα κεραυνόν.	T., 515.
I., III, 47.	καμπύλον δίφρον.	S., 324.
I., IV, 49.	Διὸς ὄμβρῳ.	E., 626.
Frag., 79, 5.	αἰθομένα δᾶς.	S., 275.
“ 130.	δνοφερᾶς νυκτὸς.	T., 107.
“ 142.	μελαίνας νυκτὸς.	T., 20.

In none of the foregoing phrases can it be assumed that Pindar was under the influence of Hesiod, although he may have been.

II. *Sentences* and *phrases* where Pindar was probably influenced by Hesiod directly.

Quoted in the order of Pindaric Odes.

- O. I., 74. βαρύκτυπον Εὐτρίαιναν.
T., 818. βαρύκτυπος Ἐννοσίγαιος.

βαρύκτυπος is not used by Homer.

- O., I, 120. σοφία, poetic skill.

Hes., Frag., 212. Δίνον κιθαριστὴν
παντοίῃς σοφίῃς δεδαγκότα.

Homer uses σοφία but once (Il. 15, 412), where it means cunning.

- O., II, 57. παραλύνει δυσφρονᾶν.

- T. 528. ἐλύσατο δουσφροσυνάων.

- O., II, 68-74. ἀπονέστερον
ἔσλοι δέκονται βίοτον, οὐ χθόνα τάρσ-
σοντες ἐν χερσὶ ἀκμῇ
οὐδὲ πόντιον ὕδωρ
κεινὰν παρὰ δίαίταν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ μὲν τιμίους

θεῶν, οἵτινες ἔχαιρον εὐορκίαις,
 ἄδακρυν νέμονται
 αἰῶνα, τοὶ δ' ἀπροσόρατον ὀκχέοντι πόνον.

Compare this description of the ideal condition of just men and just states with Hesiod's picture of their happy fate.

E., 230. οὐδέ ποτ' ἰθυδίκησι μετ' ἀνδράσι λιμὸς ὀπηδεῖ
 οὐδ' ἄτη, θαλίης δὲ μεμηλότα ἔργα νέμονται.
 θάλλουσιν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι διαμπερές· οὐδ' ἐπὶ νηῶν
 νίσσονται, καρπὸν δὲ φέρει ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα
 τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων
 λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν· ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί.

Observe how every detail of Hesiod's description reappears in Pindar, even to the statement that the just are free from the dangers of sea voyages, and the added description of the condition of the evil begins with an "οἶδε" clause in each.

O., II, 77. Description of the "Islands of the Blessed." Here the influence of Hesiod is evident. Cronus in each is ruler in these "Isles," while in Homer he still suffers from the wrath of Zeus. Hesiod was the first to mention the "Islands of the Blessed." Cf., p. 13, where this passage is discussed more fully.

O., VI, 27. οὐ φατὸν.

S. 230. οὐ φαταί. As φατός does not occur in Homer, these two cases of litotes may be connected.

O., VI, 58. χρυσοστέφανοιο—Ἡβας.

T., 17. Ἡβην τε χρυσοστέφανον.

Homer does not use the word χρυσοστέφανος; nor does he use the word στέφανος, except in the sense of circle (Il. XIII, 736); while στεφάνη seems to mean primarily the lower metallic rim of the helmet. Cf., Il. VII, 12.

O., VII, 7. Μοισᾶν δόσιν = song.

T., 93. Μουσᾶων δόσις = song.

O., VII, 10. ὁ δ' ὄλβιος ὃν φᾶμαι κατέχοντ' ἀγαθαί.

T., 96. ὁ δ' ὄλβιος ὃν τινα Μοῦσαι φίλωνται.

O., VII, 24. Ἀστυδάμεια. According to the scholiast this is the form used by Hesiod, while Homer used Ἀστυόχη.

O., VIII, 78. κὰν νόμον ἐρδομένων.

T., 417. ἔρδων ἱερὰ καλὰ κατὰ νόμον.

νόμος first appears in Hesiod.

O., IX, 76. ἐξ οὗ Θέτιος γόνος οὐλίῳ νιν ἐν Ἄρει.

S., 192. ἐναρηφόρος οὐλιος Ἄρης.

S., 441. βρισάρματος οὐλιος Ἄρης.

Homer never uses οὐλιος as an epithet of Ares.

O., X, 44. Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱός, Heracles.

S., 320. Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱός, Heracles.

O., X, 96. Κόραι Πιερίδες Διός.

S., 206, T., 25. Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

Πιερίδες as an epithet of the Muses is unknown in Homer, neither is Pieria in any way connected with them.

O., XIII, 6. Εὐνομία — κασιγνήτα τε — Δίκη καὶ
Εἰρήνη — παῖδες — Θέμιτος.

T., 901. Θέμιν ἧ τέκεν Ὀρας
Εὐνομίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τε θαλυῖαν.

The children of Themis are named in exactly the same order in each. None of this is in Homer. Cf. p. 19.

O., XIII, 46-7. ἔπεται δ' ἐν ἐκάστῳ
μέτρον · νοῆσαι δὲ καιρὸς ἄριστος.

E., 694. μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι · καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος.

Καιρὸς first appears in Hesiod.

P., I, 14. πόντον κατ' ἁμαιμάκετον.

S., 207. ἁμαιμακέτοιο θαλάσσης.

This epithet was first applied to the sea by Hesiod.

P., II, 17. ἱερέα κτίλον.

For this non-Homeric use of κτίλος cf. Hesiod, Frag., 249.

Χρῆ δέ σε πατρὶ — κτίλον ἔμμεναι.

κτίλος in Homer means only a ram. In Hesiod and Pindar "kindly cherished."

P., II, 40. καλὸν πῆμα.

T., 585. καλὸν κακόν.

In this passage Hesiod departs from epic usage and makes the penult of καλὸς short, an innovation used by Pindar.

P., II, 83. φίλον εἴη φιλεῖν.

E., 353. τὸν φιλέοντα φιλεῖν.

P., III, 1. Χείρωνά κε Φιλυρίδαν.

T., 1001. Χείρων Φιλυρίδης.

Especially to be noted in the matronymic Φιλυρίδης.

P., III, 35. καὶ γειτόνων πολλοὶ ἐπαῦρον, ἀμᾶ δ' ἔφθαρεν.

E., 240. πολλάκι καὶ ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπήυρα.

P., III, 89. χρυσάμπευκων — — Μοισᾶν.

T., 916. Μοῦσαι χρυσάμπυκες.

Homer never uses χρυσάμπυκες except in the phrase χρυσάμπυκας ἵππους (Il., V, 720; VII, 382).

P., IV, 77. κλειτᾶς Ἴωλκοῦ.

S., 380. κλειτή τ' Ἴαωλκός.

P., IV, 98. ἀνθρώπων χαμαιγενέων.

T., 879. ἀνθρώπων χαμαιγενέων.

This adjective is not found in Homer.

P., IV, 175. Περικλύμεν' εὐρυβία.

"A title in the Poseidan family" (O., VII, 58; P., III, 72),
Professor Gildersleeve.

T., 931. ἐκ δ' Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ ἐρικτύπου Ἐννοσιγαίου
Τρίτων εὐρυβίης γένητο μέγας.

This adjective is not in Homer.

P., IV, 227. ὀρθὰς δ' αὔλακας ἐντανύσαις ἤλαν'

E., 443. ὅς ἔργου μελετῶν ἰθιῖάν κ' αὔλακ' ἐλαῖνοι.

αὔλαξ is non-Homeric.

The passage in Pindar, owing to the doubtful syntax of the sentence, has received much attention from the editors. The verse in Hesiod admits of but one interpretation; αὔλακ' is the direct object of ἐλαίνοι.

I believe that this is the proper explanation of the Pindaric verse, translating it thus, "keeping a firm grasp 'ἐντανύσαις' he drove the furrows straight."

P., IV, 299. ἀμβροσίῳ ἐπέων.

T., 69. ἀμβροσίῃ μολπῇ.

P., V, 111. τανύπτερος — αἰετός

T., 523. αἰετὸν — — τανύπτερον.

Τανύπτερος is non-Homeric.

P., VI, 19, 23. The advice of Cheiron to Achilles is said by the scholiast to be from Hesiod. (Cf. Hes. Frag., 182.)

P., VI, 54. μελισσᾶν πόνον (honey).

E., 305. μελισσᾶων κάματον (honey).

P., X, 41. γῆρας οὐλόμενον.

T., 225. γῆράς τ' οὐλόμενον.

P., XII, 13. τὸ Φόρκοιο γένος (Gorgons).

T., 336. Φόρκυνος γένος (Gorgons).

N., I, 69. αὐτὸν μὲν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον
ἐν σχερῶ
ἥσυχίαν καμάτων μεγάλων ποιῶν
λαχόντ' ἐξαίρετον
ὀλβίοις ἐν δώμασι, δεξάμενον θαλερὰν
Ἦβαν ἄκοιτιν καὶ γάμον
δαίσαντα, παρ Δὲ Κρονίδῃ
σεμνὸν αἰνήσειν νόμον.

T., 950. Ἦβην δ' Ἀλκμήνης καλλισφύρου ἄλκιμος υἱός,
ἷς Ἡρακλῆος, τελέσας στονόεντας ἀέθλους
παῖδα Διὸς μέγαλοιο καὶ Ἥρης χρυσοπεδίλου
αἰδοίην θέτ' ἄκοιτιν ἐν Οὐλύμπῳ νιφόεντι,
ὄλβιος, ὃς μέγα ἔργον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνύσας
ναίει ἀπήμαντος καὶ ἀγήραος ἥματα πάντα.

Pindar must have had this passage in mind when he wrote the above description. He expresses not only the same ideas in general but in particular, where he changes the words but not the thought. Cf. *ἐν εἰρήνῃ* with *ἀπήμυντος*, *καμάτων μεγάλων* with *στονόνοντας ἀέθλους*, *ἅπαντα χρόνον* with *ἤματα πάντα*, *πὰρ Δί Κρονίδα* with *ἐν ἀθανάτοισι*, *θαλερὰν ἄκοιτιν* with *αἰδοίην ἄκοιτιν*, *ὄλβιος* with *ὀλβίοις ἐν δώμασι*, *δεξάμενον ἄκοιτιν* with *θέτ' ἄκοιτιν*.

N., II, 1. ὄθενπερ καὶ Ὀμηρίδαι
 ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων ταπόλλ' αἰοδαὶ
 ἄρχονται, Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου.

The first nine verses prefixed to the Works and Days contain an invocation to Zeus, and as they have no connection with the rest of the poem, they may be the very verses with which the bards, referred to by Pindar, began. Bergk (Gr. Lit. Gesch., p. 945) assumes that such invocations must have been a Boeotian custom.

N., II, 11. ὄρειᾶν γε Πελειάδων.

The epithet *ὄρειᾶν* is explained on the basis of Hesiod (Frag., 12), who makes the Pleiades the children of Atlas.

N., III, 14. ὦν παλαίφατον ἀλκάν.

Hesiod, Ἀλκὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκεν Ὀλύμπιος, Αἰακίδῃσι
 Frag., 225. νοῦν δ' Ἀμυθαονίδαις, πλοῦτον δ' ἔπορ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσι.

The reading of the codices and scholia to the passage in Pindar is *ἀγορὰν*, which neither gives an adequate meaning nor satisfies the metre: a spondee, not an anapaest being required. Boeckh, to make the passage intelligible, suggests *ἀρετάν*, Kayser, on metrical grounds, proposed *ἔδραν*. Rauchenstein (Philologus, XIII, 250), suggested *ὄρμάν* or *ἀλκάν*. Neither of these suggestions has met with general approval. Christ, however, has accepted *ἀλκάν*, but, even in his recent edition of Pindar, gives no reason for accepting it.

The true explanation is to be found in the passage quoted from Hesiod. Ægina was the glory of the descendants of Æacus. Nemean III is in honor of an Æginetan victor, hence the *παλαίφατον ἀλκάν* is none other than the Olympian's gift to Æacus and his descendants, mentioned by Hesiod. The requirements of metre and meaning are satisfied by this interpretation.

N., IV, 87. βαρυκτύπου Ὀρσοτριάϊνα.

Cf. note to O. I., 74, p. 33.

N., VI, 1. ἔν ἀνδρῶν
ἔν θεῶν γένος, ἔκ μιᾶς δὲ πνέομεν
ματρὸς ἀμφοτέροισι.

E., 108. ὥς ὁμόθεν γεγάασι θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι.

E., 563. Γῇ πάντων μήτηρ.

N., VI, 4. ὁ δὲ χάλκεος ἀσφαλὲς αἰὲν ἔδος
μένει οὐρανός.

T., 126. Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγένετο ἴσον ἑαυτῇ
Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόενθ' ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα καλύπτῃ
ὄφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ.

It is as the dwelling place of the gods, that heaven is described by both Hesiod and Pindar.

N., VI, 12. βίον ἐπηετανόν.

E., 31. βίος ἐπηετανός.

N., VII, 33. εὐρυκόλπου χθονός.

The adjective seems to have been formed on the basis of T., 117, Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος.

N., VII, 88. νόψ ἀτενεί.

T., 661. ἀτενεῖ τε νόψ.

Homer does not use ἀτενής.

N., VIII, 27. φόνψ πάλαισιν,

E., 413. ἀάτῃσι παλαίει.

N., VIII, 45. κενεᾶν δ' ἐλπίδων.

E., 498. κενεὴν ἐλπίδα.

N., IX, 25. βαθύστερνον χθόνα.

T., 117. Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος.

N., IX, 53. ἐκ τᾶς ἱερᾶς Σικυῶνος.

To this verse the scholiast says: οἰκείως δὲ ἱερὰν τὴν Σικυῶνα προσηγόρευσεν· ἡ γὰρ Μηκώνη ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἔστιν, ἐφ' ἧς οἱ θεοὶ διεδάσαντο

τὰς τιμάς. He then quotes, in proof of this, T., 535, καὶ γὰρ ὅτ' ἐκρίνοντο θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι Μηκύνῃ.

N., X, 15. Τηλεβόας ἐναρόντος ὅψιν ἐειδόμενος.

This is a description of the appearance of Zeus, when he came to Alcmena. It was, as Hesiod (S., 2-15) informs us, while the husband was conquering the Teleboæ that Zeus appeared to Alcmena, hence the appropriateness of the phrase quoted above.

N., XI, 6. πρῶταν θεῶν [Ἑστίαν].

The passage has been discussed under Mythology, p. 22, where πρῶταν was explained as meaning the eldest, firstborn, on the basis of Hesiod. (T., 453.)

I., II, 1. χρυσαμπύκων Μοισᾶν.

T., 916. Μοῦσαι χρυσάμπυκες. See P., III, 89.

I., II, 11. χρήματα χρήματ' ἀνὴρ.

This is a quotation in Pindar, but it is very like (E., 686),
χρήματα γὰρ ψυχὴ πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι.

I., II, 38. Πανελλάνων.

E., 528. Πανελλήνεσσι.

The passage, in Hesiod, is the first place in literature where the Greeks, collectively, were called Panhellenes. (See Thuc., I, 3.)

This word occurs but once in Homer, in a passage rejected by Aristarchus. (Il., B., 530.)

ἐγχείῃ δ' ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς.

Even if the verse be genuine, Panhellenes is not used in its later signification, else καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς would not have been added.

I., II, 42. Νείλῳ. Hesiod T. 538, was the first to call this river the Nile. Homer used only Αἴγυπτος.

I., IV, 1. Μᾶτερ Ἀελίου πολυνώνυμε Θεία.

Discussed under the mythology of Helius, p. 24.

I., V, 66.

Δάμπων δὲ μελέταν

ἔργοις ὁπάζων Ἡσιόδου μάλα τιμᾷ τοῦτ' ἔπος.

Pindar scarcely quotes any passage, but from the context it seems certain that E., 411-12 is intended.

οὐ γὰρ ἔτρωσι οὐδ' ἀνὴρ πείμπλησι καλὴν,
οὐδ' ἀναβαλλόμενος, μελέτη δέ τοι ἔργον ὀφέλλει.

Had Pindar been less familiar with Hesiod, the reference would have been more explicit, but he felt that even a hint was sufficient.

It is to be noted that μελέτη does not occur in Homer.

I., VII, 15. ἀγαθὰν ἐλπίδα.

E., 500. ἐλπὶς δ' ἀγαθή.

Frag. 29, 5. Διωνύσου πολυγαθέα τιμάν.

E., 614. Διωνύσου πολυγηθέος.

Frag., 75, 5. ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθάναις.

Hes., Frag., 129. Εὐρυγύης δ' ἔτι κοῦρος Ἀθηναίων ἱεράων.

Frag., 123, 5. Ἀφροδίτας ἐλικοβλεφάρου.

T., 16. ἐλικοβλέφαρόν τ' Ἀφροδίτην.

Homer never uses the word ἐλικοβλέφαρος.

Frag. 239. ἀγέλαι λεόντων.

S., 168. ἀγέλαι λεόντων.

VOCABULARY.

PINDAR.

Total number of different words,	-	-	-	4,685
Total number of Homeric words,	-	-	-	2,538
Percentage of Homeric words,	-	-	-	54.2

As many of the proper names in Pindar belong to his own time and could not have been used in Homer, I have counted them separately, although they are included in the above count :

Proper names in Pindar,	-	-	-	-	765
Of these there are in Homer,	-	-	-	-	310
Omitting all proper names, Homeric words in Pindar,	-	-	-	-	56.8%

HESIOD.

Total vocabulary,	-	-	-	-	-	4,570
Homeric words,	-	-	-	-	-	3,547
Homeric words,	-	-	-	-	-	77.6%
Proper names,	-	-	-	-	-	848
Homeric proper names,	-	-	-	-	-	470
Omitting all proper names, Homeric words in Hesiod,	-	-	-	-	-	82.8%

The difference between 56.8 per cent. and 82.8 per cent. is in a measure due to the metre. In Pindar the number of words, which, like *καλλίπωλος*, offer -υ- a cretic, is very large, and a few words like *φιλόπολις*. υ υ υ υ are also impossible to Homer or Hesiod.

Pindar and Hesiod have in common 1,812 words. They use in common but 159 non-Homeric words; of these 69 are proper names, as I have noted in the previous part of this paper the proper names of importance not mentioned by Homer, and yet found in both Hesiod and Pindar, a list only of the common names is given.

In this list have been noted all words that are found in the Homeric hymns, also Homeric words that are similar but not identical.

The Hesiodic form of the word is given :

ἀβρός	ἡχέω (h. Cer., 38)
ἀδάμας	θαυμάσιος (h. Merc., 443)
ἄδικος	θαυματός (h. Merc., 440)
ἀδόκητος	θέσσασθαι
ἀέναος (Od., XIII, 109, αἰνάοντα)	θηητός
αἰμύλος (Od., I, 56, αἰμυλίωσι)	θησαυρός
ἀκίνητος	ἰσχύς
ἄμαυρόω	καιρός
ἀνίκητος	καματώδης
ἄπλητος	καναχηδά
ἀποδρέπω	καταφράζω
ἀράχνης	κατελέγχω
ἄρχαῖος	κεραυνώ
ἄτενης	κερδαίνω
αἰλαξ	κίβισις
αἰξάνω	κοινός
ἄφατος	κόραξ
ἄφθονος (h. Apoll., 536)	κρύφιος
βαρύκτυπος (h. Cer., 3)	κτέανον
βροτήσιος (Od., XIX, 545, βρότεος)	κτίλος (adj.)
γηραιός	κύδιμος (h. Merc., 46)
γηρῶ	κωμάζω
γονεύς (h. Cer., 241)	μαστεύω (Il., XIV, 110, ματεύω)
δαπάνη	μελέτη
δολώ	μέριμνα (h. Merc., 44)
δότειρα	μηχανή
δρόσος	μόχθος
δύσφημος	νόμος
δυσφρόνη	ξυνήων
ἐγκώμιος	οἶμος
ἐλικοβλέφαρος (h. Ven., 19)	περισσός
ἐμπαλιν (h. Merc., 78)	πλουτέω
ἔργμα (h. XXVII, 20)	πολύξεινος
εὐδαίμων	πολυώνυμος (h. Apoll., 82)
εὐρυβίης (h. Cer., 294)	σκληρός
εὐφρόνη	τανύπτερος (Od., V, 65, τανυσίπτερος)
εὐώνυμος	τέκμαρ (τέκμωρ, Il., I, 526)

τεκνῶ	φέρβω (h. XXX, 2)	
τέρψις	φωνήεις	
τητάομαι	χαμαιγενής (h. Cer., 252)	
τριστός (h. Ven., 7)	χαράσσω	
ὑμνέω (h. Apoll., 178)	χθόνιος	
ὑπερήφανος	χρηστήριον	
ὑψιμέδων	ὠγύγιος	
φατός	ῥαῖος	(90)

SUMMARY.

Hesiod's influence on Pindar is most manifest in matters of mythology and expression.

I. MYTHOLOGY.

Heaven and Earth were the sources of all things. (E., 108, 563; P., 45; N., VI, 1-3; O., VII, 38.) In Homer, II., XII, 201, Oceanus was called *γένεσις θεῶν*. Cronus, who, in Homer, still suffers in Tartarus, is ruler in the "Islands of the Blessed," a region first mentioned by Hesiod. (E., 169; O., II, 77-9.)

Themis, a servant in Homer, is described as the wife and adviser of Zeus, and the mother of the Horae.

The Horae were *Εὐνομίη*, *Δίκη*, *Ειρήνη*, children of Themis and Zeus, mighty divinities aiding and protecting man. (T., 901; XIII, 6, 8.) The Horae were merely servants in Homer, who neither names them, gives them a definite number, nor mentions their lineage. The Muses, children of Mnemosyne, are called *Πιερίδες*, *Ἑλικωνιάδες*, *χρυσάμπυκες* (T., 152; O., X, 96; I., V, 75; II, 34, 1).

The Graces, children of Zeus, were three in number, *Ἀγλαΐη*, *Εὐφροσύνη*, *Θαλίη*, named in the same order by both poets. (T., 907; O., XIV, 4.) In Homer the Graces were more than three, and *Πασιθέη* was of their number.

In the conception of the Fates, Pindar agrees with Hesiod, and names *Κλωθώ* and *Λάχεσις* who were mentioned T., 904; cf. I., V, 17; O., VII, 54.

Εἰλείθυια, who in Homer is now singular, now plural, assumes a definite individuality. (T., 921; N., VII, 1-5.)

Helios is considered not as Hyperion, but as his son, by Theia. (T., 371; I., V, 1.)

Atlas wrestles with the heavens (T., 517; P., IV, 239), while in Homer he merely supports the pillars, on which the heavens rest. The Nereids are given the definite number fifty. (T., 263; I., V, 6.) Tyche is considered a goddess. (T., 360; O., XII, 2.)

The Gorgons are named, parentage given, and one of them, Medusa, was slain by Perseus. (S., 320; P., XII, 9.)

From the blood of the Gorgon Pegasus was born, who, having assisted Bellerophon, was received into the Olympian stables of Zeus. (T., 276-325; O., XIII, 82-92.) The word Pegasus does not occur in Homer.

Both have non-Homeric myths concerning Apollo and Cyrene, Apollo and Coronis, Iphicles, Iolaus, Medea, Jason, Cheiron, the Argonauts, Cadmus, Hermione, Hercules, Geryones, and the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus.

EXPRESSION.

Hesiod and Pindar were both men of high moral principles, and each strove to give sound advice in didactic and gnomic expression. The similarity, observable in these expressions, is probably due to the influence of proverbial utterances current in Bœotia.

Hesiod's influence is shown in phrases and sentences. The following expressions common to Hesiod and Pindar are not in Homer. Poseidon is *βαρύκτυπος*. He and his family are *εἰρυνβίης*. Hebe is *χρυσοστέφανος*. The Muses *Πιερίδες*, *Ἑλικωνιάδες*, *χρυσάμπυκες*, Ares, *οὔλιος*, Dionysus, *πολυγαθής*, Aphrodite *ἐλικοβλέφαρος*. The Thebans are *πλήξιπποι*. Gorgons, *ἀπλητοὶ* and *τό Φόρκοιο γένος*. The sea is *ἀμαιμάκετος*. Heracles, *Διὸς ἄλκιμος*. Athens *ἱεραὶ Ἀθῆναι*. Song is *Μουσάων δόσις*. Compare the following: *μελισσάων κάματον* (E., 305), *μελισσῶν πόνον* (P., VII, 54), meaning honey in each. T., 127, *Οὐρανόν* — — ὄφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ.

N., VI, 5. ὁ δὲ χάλκεος ἀσφαλὲς αἰὲν ἔδος
μένει οὐρανός.

N., VII, 88. νόψ' ἀτενεί, T., 661.

N., VIII, 45. κενεῶν δ' ἐλπίδων, E., 498.

The two matronymics found in Pindar, *Λατοίδας* and *Φιφυρίδας* > are in Hesiod also.

Pindar's description of the ideal condition of just men and just states, and the picture of the blessed immortality of Heracles seem both in conception and language to have been modeled on Hesiod. Cf. pp. 6 and 37.

The phrase *ὀρθὰς δ' αὖλακας ἐντανύσαις ἤλαυν'* (P., IV, 225) is explained by E., 443, *ὅς ἔργον μελετῶν ἰθεὶάν κ' αὖλακ' ἐλανόι*.

The phrase used in reference to the Æginetan victor (N., III, 14) ὦν παλαίφατον ἀλκὰν refers to a tradition given in Hesiod, Frag., 225.

In the phrase ἐκ τᾶς ἱερᾶς Σικυῶνος (N., IX, 53) ἱερᾶς is explained on the basis of Hesiod; so also is ὄρειᾶν in the phrase ὄρειᾶν Πελειάδων. (N., II, 11.)

The advice given by Cheiron to Achilles (P., VI, 22-5), is said by the scholiast to have been taken from Hesiod. Pindar mentions Hesiod by name, and quotes from him, in a manner which implies great familiarity with his writings. (I., V, 67.) Λάμπων δὲ μελέταν ἔργοις ὀπάζων Ἑσιόδον μάλα τιμᾷ τοῦτ' ἔπος.

Hesiod is also mentioned in an epigram, assigned to Pindar.

Χαῖρε δὲς ἡβήσας καὶ δὲς τάφον ἀντιβολήσας,
'Ἑσιόδ', ἀνθρώποις μέτρον ἔχων σοφίας.

Hesiod's influence was a constant one, and appears in the later as well as the earlier odes. It is most pronounced in the ten following odes:

O., II,	written in Pindar's 51st year.
O., IX,	" " 67th "
O., XIII,	" " 59th "
O., XIV,	" " 46th "
P., IV,	" " 57th "
P., VI,	" " 29th "
P., XII,	" " 29th "
N., I,	" " 50th "
N., III,	" " 54th "
N., VI,	" " 60th "

Dated according to Christ's "Fasti Pindarici." These ten odes covering a period of nearly forty years, embrace practically all of Pindar's poetic career.

CONCLUSION.

In Pindar's mythology the influence of Hesiod is dominant ; when Hesiod and Homer disagree, Pindar follows Hesiod.

Often his references are so hidden, that, without the works of Hesiod, his meaning would be obscure.

Generally, when Hesiod has elaborated a myth, Pindar merely refers to it, without giving the details, feeling, doubtless, that its familiarity forbids its repetition.

When Pindar does expand a Hesiodic myth, it is to bring into prominence a different phase of the subject, except where local pride demanded a repetition ; here a reference to Hesiod is not enough ; the story must be retold.

Pindar's treatment of Hesiodic myths, his use of identical, as well as parallel expressions, and his reference to him by name, seem to warrant the assertion that the writings of Hesiod were perfectly familiar to him and were considered worthy of the highest regard.

LIFE.

I was born September 15, 1867, in McLean County, Ill., and was prepared for college in the Normal School at Normal, Ill.

I entered the Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., from which I was graduated in June 1891, with the degree of A.B.

During the academic years, 1891-1893, I was instructor in Greek in the Academy of the Northwestern University.

In 1893 I entered upon graduate courses in Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, at the Johns Hopkins University, holding the university scholarship in Greek in 1895, and fellowship in 1895-6.

During the present year I have been instructor in Greek in the Northwestern University.

To Professors Gildersleeve, Warren, and Bloomfield, of the Johns Hopkins University, and to Professors Baird and Bonbright, of the Northwestern University, I am greatly indebted for assistance and encouragement.

